

appropriated, in secret session, "to defray the expenses which' might be incurred in relation to the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations." This the Federalists attacked as designed for corruption money at the Courts of France and Spain. The administration, they claimed, was sacrificing the interests of the western States and was meekly purchasing that which, by a rigorous policy, would be ours of right. But their assaults had little effect. At no other period of his career was Jefferson's personal influence more clearly shown than now, when, without a definite policy, and without committing himself to a single promise, he held in check the restless West.

Monroe's instructions covered merely the securing of the island of New Orleans and the Floridas. Failing in this he was to stipulate for the right of deposit near the mouth of the Mississippi. So moderate were Jefferson's demands that he did not stickle for the precise place of deposit. If New Orleans could not be secured, Natchez would be a satisfactory substitute. The French were to be admitted to Louisiana without condition. The instructions contained nothing that Bonaparte could have regarded as in the least hostile to his plans. No provision was made for action in case Bonaparte should refuse the concessions asked. Indeed, Jefferson did not want action. It was after Monroe had landed in France that Madison, by the President's direction, instructed Monroe and Livingston, as soon as they should find that no arrangements could be made with France, "to use all possible procrastination with them, and in the meantime to' enter into conference with the British Government, through their ambassador at Paris, to fix principles of alliance, and leave us in peace till Congress meets; and prevent war till next spring."

But Monroe and Livingston had closed the matter before these last instructions left America. Indeed, none of the instructions which Monroe actually bore with him had any bearing on the final agreement with France. On reaching Paris, he found that events had brought the negotiations to a point beyond his power to make or mar them. In January, the news